

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor : R. PALME DUTT

Volume 7

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Number 12

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India Under British Rule

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The World of Labour

Index to Volume 7 (1925)

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NOTES of the MONTH

*The Government's Attack—The Sequel of Liverpool—Class Law—
Protests and Practice—The Democratic Illusion—What is the
Answer?—Still Hoping—Hypothesis versus Facts—Only
the Beginning—Whose Violence?—Sub Judice—
“Violence and Civil War”—Mr. MacDonald
and the Earthquake—Communism versus
Violence—“Heavy Civil War”—Was
Lenin Wrong?—The Revolutionary
Answer — No Alternative —
Towards New Leadership*

SHARP on the heels of Liverpool has followed the Government's attack. The Government's attack has carried out the course predicted with exactitude. First, the concentration on the revolutionary wing, by the prosecution of the Communist Party. Second, the extension to a wider field of the whole Labour Press, by the Government's dropping of the case against the gunmen who seized the *Daily Herald* van. Third, the extension to the whole trade union field, by the renewed Conservative taking up of the Political Levy Bill (though this will probably have to wait on the success of the economic offensive). Finally, the preparation of the economic offensive, which is being organised more and more openly and with more and more open co-operation between the Government and Fascism. It is clear that Liverpool has not ended the class struggle by its resolutions of trustful faith in capitalist democracy, nor has it conciliated the bourgeoisie by its obedient surrender of working-class unity in response to the imperious clamour of the capitalist Press. On the contrary, Liverpool has only encouraged the Government to attack.

THE intensified Government attack on the working class is the direct and logical sequel of the Liverpool decisions. This is the first and most important lesson to learn—for it is the beginning of wisdom for the future. The policy of the united working-class front in action, of “Red Friday,” and of

Scarborough, so far as it is carried out, means strength for the working class; in face of it the bourgeoisie was compelled to retreat. But the moment there came instead the policy of Liverpool, the policy of MacDonald, the policy of working-class disunity and of concessions to capitalist democracy and the capitalist Press, from that moment the bourgeoisie recovered their position and pressed forward their attack; the working-class ranks were temporarily broken by the failure of those who should have been organising them. The contrast in practical effect on the political situation between Scarborough and Liverpool is so clear that none can fail to see it. It is to be hoped that this lesson will sink deep into the masses of the workers, and also into the minds of those Left Wing leaders who thought that they could safely leave the battle unfought at Liverpool without damage to their own cause.

SLOWLY the workers are awakening to the full measure of the capitalist attack that is threatening them. They are beginning to realise that strong forces are being prepared against them; that the capitalist class is forming special organisations, technical, economic, political and military, legal and illegal; that the State, the law, the Press, the police, Fascism and the employers' organisations are working together with obvious co-operation; and that it is no longer a question of a strike here or an election there, but of a supreme trial which will put to the test, not only the whole future of working-class standards, but the whole existence and rights of working-class organisation. They are beginning also to learn another thing: and that is that the promises of legal protection and democracy and peaceful progress which their leaders have held out to them are not honoured when it comes to the test; that the law exists for the rich and not for the poor; and that those who counselled them not to place their trust in it, but only in their own working-class organisation, may have been right after all.

TO-DAY the air is full of protests. A change is taking place in Right Wing Labour expression which is worth noting. Six months ago the Right Wing Labour Press invariably laughed at the idea of Fascism in England. It was too

comic for words. It was "a comic opera organisation." It was "little children playing at soldiers." The correct policy for Labour was to "ridicule and ignore" them; they would be "killed by ridicule." If they attempted anything, the police would deal with them. To-day the tune has changed. The Right Wing Labour Press is full of passionate protest and indignation. They have forgotten to giggle at Fascism. They are beginning to understand the meaning of the statement that, so far from the police being likely to deal with Fascism, the police and Fascism are in practice one and the same thing. They are beginning to realise that Fascism is the problem of Reformism, the dilemma which Reformism cannot solve: If the law fails them, how are they to meet it? To that question they have no answer.

PROTESTS are the last weapon in the armoury of democratic illusion. Mr. MacDonald is busily writing letters of protest to the newspapers at the Government's semi-legal attacks upon the working class. It would be better if Mr. MacDonald, instead of protesting after the event, had taken a little thought at Liverpool for the defence of the working class. If Mr. MacDonald and his friends opened the door so invitingly for the Government at Liverpool, it is not to be wondered at that the Government took advantage of it. Mr. Wedgwood has declared that if only he had guessed the Government was going to act like this, he and others would never have behaved as they did at Liverpool. Sacred innocence! Of such, at all times and in all countries, are the hosts of Reformism made. But Mr. Wedgwood endeavoured in a subsequent speech to go on to deal with the question: What then? What must be done? And in his answer to this question the final bankruptcy of the democratic illusion was revealed.

MR. WEDGWOOD said:—

It is much better to have things out in the open. We know where we are and what Labour has to expect. The State is against you; the court is against you; Society will not stand your slothfulness any longer. If you will not work, there are bludgeons.

It is no use whining when you are hit like this, or saying, "It's unfair." They want you to realise that they can be unfair. It is vain to make appeals to the law courts or to send deputations to see

Sir William Joynson-Hicks. The lawyers and Sir William enjoy that. It is a little contemptible to beg for justice.

We had much better grin and bear it, and organise in one way or another, or in every way, to change the rulers when we do get a chance, even though we suspect that when we have changed them we may have to change them again.

This statement is the nearest approach of any front bench Labour leader to facing the issue. It is therefore worth consideration.

WHAT does this statement offer as the working-class answer to Fascism and class violence? Mr. Wedgwood says that the whole machinery of the existing State and law is against the working class. Correct. Mr. Wedgwood further says that it is useless to appeal to the bourgeoisie or their law-courts: the working class must organise their own strength. Again correct. What is the conclusion? It looks as if we must get some positive proposals how the working class are to organise their strength for meeting the present crisis, close their ranks, prepare their defence, seek to win over or neutralise the State forces, or the like. Nothing of the kind. Mr. Wedgwood's conclusion is more ambitious. The workers must win the power of government: they must

organise in one way or another, or in every way, to change the rulers when we do get a chance, even though we suspect that when we have changed them we may have to change them again.

(*Morning Post* report and the *Daily Herald* report omits the last clause.) What does Mr. Wedgwood mean by this? Mr. Wedgwood is not an advocate of the dictatorship of the proletariat: he cannot therefore mean that. We must presume that he means a parliamentary Government based on a parliamentary majority. This, then, is Mr. Wedgwood's answer how the workers are to meet the present crisis. They are to meet the present crisis that is a matter of months with an alleged future parliamentary majority that is a matter of years.

THIS is to meet facts with a hypothesis. How long is this parliamentary majority likely to take to reach? Five years? Ten? Fifteen? Twenty? Not to mention the possibility—which cannot be ignored—that it may never come, that a few Zinoviev forgeries can easily hold it off for the present,

and that social and international events may reach a crisis long before it is in sight. What then? What is to happen in the meantime? How are the workers to defend themselves? For in the meanwhile the class struggle goes on. The attack on the workers' standards continues. The legal offensive proceeds. The Fascist campaign has full play. What are the workers to do? Are they to submit? Are they to surrender their whole present position in the hope of the elusive future parliamentary majority? Are they to confine their defence to the old economic sectional trade union action, when the class struggle has clearly swept forward to a new stage involving the action of the whole working class and embracing fields never previously covered? Are they to awaken to this new stage and organise their action correspondingly in every direction? Or are they to go the way of Italy, and let their whole organisation be broken up? The latter is the only "democratic" answer. But if that is not the answer, then drop the play of democratic illusion (as the illuminating events of the Fascists and the *Daily Herald* have in practice prompted Mr. Wedgwood to do in the first half of his statement) and come out openly on the ground of working-class strength and power.

THE new capitalist offensive is so far only in its earliest stages. All that has so far taken place is only a guerrilla warfare and skirmishing, in preparation for the main attacks. The experience of other countries shows that England is only at the start of the process that invariably takes place as the class struggle develops. But that this start has already taken place is of immense significance. Sufficient has already happened to raise questions which demand an answer. There are at least possibilities in view which do not fall within the simple democratic vista and which cannot be ignored. The working-class movement will be well advised to consider the answer to these questions. Not to desire to answer these questions is no excuse for failing to answer them. It is useless to bury one's head in the sand. Facts are facts: and the working class will experience them in reality, here as in other countries, and will have to meet them in reality, whatever the theories of eloquent parliamentarians or the resolutions passed at conferences.

IT is here on this ground of actual events and experiences, and on this ground alone, that the question of "violence" so-called can be considered. The question of "violence" is not a question of the action of the working class, but of the action of the bourgeoisie. Neglect of this fundamental fact lies behind all the attempts to treat a section of the working-class movement as advocates of "violence." It is worth while to give some care to this question: for the bourgeoisie, and their agents in the working-class movement, all past-masters in the practical use of violence in the colonies or in the imperialist war, are shamelessly ready to use the language of pacifist idealism against the working class in order to teach the workers to submit without resistance to the bourgeoisie. This is the issue which is increasingly coming forward in an acute form, and drawing closer and closer from theory to practice.

BY a benevolent provision of the law the direct discussion of the case at present under trial is not permitted. The object of this provision is to prevent the minds of the jury being prejudiced. The minds of the jury are virgin soil. Eleven out of twelve of them (or more probably, the whole twelve, or whatever the number may be) will have been reading continuously for the past few years the *Daily Mail*, *Express*, *News*, or else *The Times* or *Telegraph*, or similar journals. They may therefore be presumed to have completely unprejudiced minds on the subject of Communism. Nothing must be done to disturb this innocence. Accordingly we must content ourselves with considering the wider issue as it was discussed at Liverpool, and not precisely the same issue, between precisely the same social forces (Sir Douglas Hogg replacing Mr. MacDonald), as it has been discussed at the Old Bailey.

THE question of "violence and civil war," as commonly introduced, is a red herring drawn across the trail. There is no question, trace or suggestion of working-class violence in this country; and there is no question whatever yet of civil war. But there is every question of bourgeois violence already, and it is an issue that is confronting the working class. The Labour leader who, in order to escape this issue and to avoid answering justified political criticism, lets himself make the facile

charge against the revolutionaries of advocating "violence and civil war" is playing straight into the hands of the Government and straight into the hands of the police. He may gain an easy victory for the moment with the unthinking, who will of course eagerly put up their hands for "peace" as against "war"; but it is at the expense of the interests of the working class. It is a lie to say that the revolutionaries advocate "violence and civil war." What the revolutionaries say is that the issue of bourgeois violence confronts the working class and has got to be faced, and that the workers cannot afford to put their trust in the capitalist law and the capitalist State machine for their protection. And events daily are proving the truth of this.

IMAGINE a parallel. Suppose a scientist to declare, as a result of his investigations, that an earthquake will take place in England within ten years, and that all houses, unless reinforced in a certain way, will be shattered. It is reasonable to doubt his conclusion, to discuss his evidence, to examine the facts and see how far they bear him out. But the MacDonald method is different. Mr. MacDonald would say: "Infamous scientist! He is in favour of earthquakes. He wants to shatter all our houses. Out with him! Earthquakes are all very well for countries like Japan: but we do not want them here. We like to live at peace. We have always lived at peace. Expel this scientist! Vote for me and no earthquakes!" And amid general applause, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution would be carried denouncing the scientist and denouncing all earthquakes.

Is the parallel monstrous? Yet this is precisely what happened at Liverpool with regard to Lenin's prophecy of "heavy civil war" in England. For a civil war may happen, even though we do not wish it, if the bourgeoisie are determined upon it.

NEITHER the Communists, nor any other section of the working-class movement, desire or advocate violence or civil war in any form. Communism stands for the abolition of every form of coercion and every form of violence. The abolition of violence and coercion is only possible under Communism: because Communism alone removes the conditions of human

exploitation which inevitably give rise to, and can only exist by, daily violence and coercion. Compared with Communism, the Quaker opposition to violence is half-hearted and insincere: for the Quakers rest on capitalism and the capitalist apparatus, draw their wealth from it, are mixed up with their financial investments and shares in the whole of imperialism and its daily violent subjection and coercion of the majority of the human race. Communism alone proceeds along the correct method to remove coercion by removing the causes of coercion. But this process involves struggle in the existing world of struggle: and Communism teaches that, so long as the working class submits to bourgeois violence, so long they not only do not escape struggle, but by the continuance and expansion of capitalism and imperialism the sum-total of violence in the world is increased.

LENIN spoke of "heavy civil war" in England. But when that quotation is given, it is never given in full. Lenin did not say: "Let us make civil war in England." Lenin did not say: "Hurrah for civil war in England." Indeed, on another occasion, Lenin declared, as Marx had declared before him, that if the revolution could be carried through peacefully in England, then speed the work. But what Lenin did say was that he was convinced that the revolution could not be carried through peacefully in England. And for this statement he gave sober matter-of-fact evidence and reasons, which have to be gainsaid before the conclusion can be gainsaid. What Lenin did say was that the English workers must "prepare for"—*prepare for*, not seek for, aim at, hope for—prepare for the necessity of winning their freedom, not through "easy parliamentary victories," but through "heavy civil war." That was a sober estimate of the future by the greatest working-class strategist in history. It was a scientific statement, backed by evidence, representing the outcome of his life's work, study, thinking and experience of the working of social forces. It was no impetuous incitement to violence, but a plain facing of realities confronting the working class. The fool who seeks to twist these words into advocacy of civil war does so at his peril.

TO-DAY the plain facts of the situation are already in the first stage of justifying Lenin's words. Behind all the pacifism and democracy of his language, Baldwin in every speech is proclaiming his intention to use the full machine of power against the working class. At the same time as the parliamentary democrats are dreaming of a future moment when they will be able to use the machine of State on behalf of the working class, they are failing to see that at the present moment every support they are giving to the trickery of parliamentary democracy is strengthening the position of Baldwin against the working class. It is not for nothing that Baldwin stresses on every occasion his "democratic" claim to represent "the majority" (and every argument of the Labour leaders in favour of parliamentary democracy is a support of that claim)—and in the name of that claim his right and power to employ every weapon of coercion against "the minority," *i.e.*, the workers. The bourgeoisie are not so foolish as to lose their strategic advantage of representing the State as "the people." It is their policy, while they are still possessed of that strategic advantage, to strike at the working-class movement so soon as it has become menacing to capitalist interests and is passing out of "safe" leadership. That is the whole meaning of the present period of the concentrated attack on the miners and the Communists, the organisation of Fascism and the preparations for a great conflict. On the "constitutional" basis of the trickery of the capitalist democratic apparatus (which was never more clearly exposed than in the Zinoviev forgery election, by which MacDonald let Baldwin in) Baldwin is preparing to use any weapon of coercion against the working class—"in the name of the majority." And to save misunderstanding, Churchill adds his comment: "As in time of war."

WHAT is the revolutionary answer to this situation? There is no "democratic" answer. What, then, does the revolutionary programme put forward at this stage of the working-class movement? Does the revolutionary programme say: "Let us make a conspiracy." "Let us blow up Buckingham Palace." "Let us abandon parliamentary and trade union action"? Nothing of the kind. The revolutionary programme says very

simply: first, that the action of the bourgeoisie against the workers, both legal, semi-legal and illegal, is to be expected at the present stage and is inevitable: second, that the working class cannot trust in the capitalist law and machine for their defence, but must trust in their own strength; and third, that therefore the workers' ranks must be united and organised to meet the capitalist attack. To realise this the workers need a common leadership and a common movement. The workers all over the country must be awakened to the struggle in front and to the issues to be faced. A leadership is needed which will face these issues and organise the workers' struggle. Centralisation of direction is needed through the General Council, the Workers' Alliance or similar forms. Unification of the workers' ranks is needed all over the country, and can only be achieved on the basis of the factories. The workers need to establish the local protection of their organisation against guerrilla attacks and middle-class hooliganism by the formation of Workers' Defence bodies in every district. Finally the workers need beforehand to strive to disarm the violence of the State machine against them by bringing the propaganda of the working-class movement to their fellow workers in the State forces.

IN all these proposals is there a single one which is not already evident to every serious worker as dictated by the barest necessities of the situation? Take, for example, that which has most given rise to controversy: the question of the carrying of working-class propaganda to the State forces. Is there a single reason why the whole working-class movement should not unite to carry out this all-important task? Is there a single argument (other than fear of the law) for not doing it? Is there a single honourable reason that a single member of the Independent Labour Party can give for not performing this duty? But if there is not, and if the same applies with no less strength to every one of these proposals, then the urgent need is the consolidation of a leadership which will carry them out, the consolidation of a Left Wing which will combine every honest element in the movement on a common programme of workers' unity and defence against the capitalist attack. This question of leadership is of vital importance at the present hour; for without it the workers cannot defend themselves because they

cannot act together. The readiness of the workers, revealed in the tremendous response to "Red Friday" and the Workers' Alliance campaign, cannot realise itself without the leadership to give it expression and to organise it. A heavy responsibility is thrown on the whole of the Left Wing. Every sectional difference must give way to the common need. If the workers can only stand firm, united and prepared in time, they need fear no action of the bourgeoisie.

THE attack of the Government covers a very wide field. There are three pillars of the Baldwin Government's policy: the Pact, the Gold Standard and the home offensive against the working class. Every one of these is part of a common campaign to re-establish the capitalist economy in the post-war period by the driving down of the working class. The Pact is the bloc of Western European imperialism, the temporary merging of the old differences, and even the inclusion of the former enemy, Germany, not for purposes of "peace and conciliation," but openly against the revolution, against the Soviet Union and against the awakening colonial peoples of Asia (and ultimately also against the rival imperialism of America). The accompaniment of the Pact is the intensification of the White campaign and working-class persecution in every country in Europe. The Pact is the first stage of preparation of a future war-front. The Gold Standard is the desperate and artificial attempt to re-establish the world position of British capitalism by the forcing down of the British workers' standards. The necessary accompaniment of the policy of the Gold Standard is the offensive against the working class—the attack on the miners, the Communist prosecutions, the organisation of Fascism, the mobilisation of the Right Wing against working-class unity and the preparation for a future conflict. The answer of the workers to this many-sided attack demands a new leadership which does not yet exist in the British movement. The need of the present period is to forge a way forward to this new leadership through the consolidation of the Left Wing on the basis of the practical task of Workers' Defence.

R. P. D.

R. PALME DUTT :

A Personal Statement

This number of THE LABOUR MONTHLY appears a few days late owing to the arrest of our Editor, R. Palme Dutt, in Brussels. No doubt our readers were made aware of this circumstance through the reports in the Press ; but since these reports were garbled and, in certain respects, definitely misleading, we think it desirable to state here the essential facts of the case.

Following a severe breakdown in health some eighteen months ago, Mr. Dutt has been compelled to reside out of England. Unfortunately his health has not improved—so much so that it has often been under circumstances of great difficulty that he has written his “ Notes of the Month ”—and recently he left Sweden, where he had been living, for Belgium in order to undergo special treatment at a hospital in Brussels. Here he was so ill that he was frequently unable to leave his bed for more than two days in the week.

On Thursday, November 5, four policemen entered the room of this sick man, covered him with their revolvers and arrested him on the preposterous charge of conspiring against the Belgian State. The room was searched, and nothing at all was found—despite Press tales of “ German, Russian and Hungarian money ” and “ Documents in Chinese and Hindustani ”—beyond scientific, economic and philosophic works, and the usual Socialist, Communist and Marxist studies that are found on the bookshelves of most publicists.

Naturally, for want of evidence, this fantastic charge was dropped, but in its stead a deportation order was issued. Only urgent representations, by telegram and mail, from influential persons in this country delayed the execution of the order and caused its eventual cancellation by a unanimous decision of the Belgian Cabinet.

INDIA UNDER BRITISH RULE

By KARL MARX

[The following two articles were contributed by Karl Marx to the New York Daily Tribune in 1853. They were recently re-discovered by Mr. Riasanov, the head of the Marx and Engels Institute in Moscow, and published in the journal, Under the Banner of Marxism. The present translation has been made from the German edition of this periodical (July, 1925), and cannot, therefore, claim to represent the exact wording of the original articles. Quotations also have been translated from the German. It is astonishing to notice how up-to-date Marx's analysis appears. His description of the revolutionary changes in the basis of the Indian social order brought about by the British conquest of India, and his forecast of the involuntary creation by British capitalism of the necessary political and economic conditions for Indian independence have been strikingly confirmed by events.]

I. BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

New York Daily Tribune, June 25, 1853.

HINDUSTAN is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions, with the Himalayas for the Alps, the plains of Bengal for Lombardy, the Deccan for the Apennines and the island of Ceylon for Sicily. Hence the similar great diversity in soil production and the analagous cleavages in political structure. Just as Italy from time to time has been split up by the sword of the conqueror into different national portions, so we see Hindustan, where not under the pressure of Mohammedans, Moguls or Britishers, broken up into as many independent and hostile States as it counts towns or even villages. Regarded from the social standpoint, however, Hindustan is not the Italy but the Ireland of the East. This peculiar combination of an Italy with an Ireland, of a world of voluptuousness with a world of suffering, reflects itself in the old traditions of the religion of Hindustan. This religion is at once a religion of sensual extravagance and of self-

mortifying asceticism, the religion of the Lingam and the Juggernaut, the religion of the monks and the dancing girls.

I do not share the opinion of those who believe in a golden age of Hindustan; without, however, like Sir Charles Wood, appealing to the authority of Kuli-Khan for the confirmation of my view. One has only to picture for oneself, for example, the times of the Aurangzebs, or the epochs when the Mogul appeared in the North and the Portuguese in the South, or the Mohammedan invasion and the Heptarchy in South India, or, if one wishes to go back still farther into antiquity, the mythological chronology of the Brahmins themselves, in order to date back the beginning of Indian misery to an epoch which reaches further back than the creation of the world according to the Christian reckoning.

There is no doubt, however, that the misery which the British have conjured up all over Hindustan is fundamentally different, and of an infinitely deeper consequence, than anything previously suffered by her. I am not referring here to the European despotism of the British East India Company grafted on to the old Asiatic despotism, a more horrible combination than any of the monstrous idols that frighten us in the temple of Salsette. That is no peculiarity of British colonial domination, but only an imitation of the Dutch, and, indeed, to such an extent is this the case, that it suffices for a complete description of the activity of the British East India Company to reproduce the exact words of Sir Stamford Raffles, the British Lieut.-Governor of Java, on the old Dutch East India Company. He said :—

The Dutch Company, governed entirely by the motive of profit, treated its subjects with less consideration or regard than earlier the West Indian plantation owners treated the slaves on their estates, for the latter had paid for the slaves in their possession, while the Dutch East India Company had not. It used the whole existing apparatus of despotism in order to wring out of the people the last penny in taxation, and the last ounce of labour power, and heightened still further the pressure of an arbitrary and semi-barbaric government by employing the latter with all the practical rapacity of a politician and all the finished egoism of a monopolist trader.

All the former civil wars, invasions, conquests and famines, however remarkably complicated, rapid and destructive their succession in India may appear, touched only the surface. England, on the other hand, has torn down the whole scaffolding of the

Indian social order, without so far any obvious signs of a rebirth being visible. This loss of an old world without any winning of a new one lends an especially tragic character to the present misery of the Indians, and distinguishes the present-day Hindustan as ruled by the British from all the ancient traditions and history of the entire past.

For unthinkable ages there have been in Asia only three departments of Government—that of finance or internal plunder, that of war or external plunder, and, finally, that of public works. Climate and soil conditions, especially the enormous stretches of desert reaching from the Sahara over Arabia, Persia, India and Tartary to the highest plateaux of Asia, make artificial irrigation by canals and waterworks the fundamental basis of oriental agriculture. In India, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia alike, river floods were utilised for fertilising the soil and increasing the water storage for feeding the irrigation canals. The absolute necessity of frugal economical use of water, which in the West, in Flanders and Italy, compelled the private owners to join in voluntary union, determined in the East, where the civilisation was too low and the area too great for it to bring about a voluntary union, the interference of the central governmental power. Thus arose an economic function of all Asiatic governments, *viz.*, the function of promoting public works. This artificial fertilising of the soil, which depends on the administration of the central government and immediately falls into decay with the neglect of irrigation and land drainage, is the explanation of the otherwise curious fact that at the present time whole regions are infertile deserts which were once under excellent cultivation, as, for instance, Palmyra, Petra, the ruins of Yemen and whole provinces in Egypt, Persia and India. It explains also the fact that the devastation of a single war could cause the depopulation of a country for centuries and rob it of its whole civilisation.

The British in India have taken over from their predecessors the departments of finance and of war, but they have entirely neglected that of public works. Hence the decay of agriculture, which cannot be carried on in accordance with the English principle of free competition, of *laissez faire, laissez aller*. We are, however, quite accustomed to see in Asiatic empires the decay of agriculture

under one government and its restoration under another. The harvest here corresponds to the presence of a good or bad government, just as in Europe it reflects good or bad weather. The subordination and neglect of agriculture, however bad it might be, could not still be regarded as the ultimate ground of the collapse of the Indian social order brought about by the British invasion if it had not also been accompanied by circumstances of quite a different significance, by a new phenomenon in the annals of the history of the entire Asiatic world.

Whatever the numerous changes in the political picture of India's past, its social order remained unaltered from the oldest times up to the first decade of the nineteenth century. The hand loom and spinning wheel, which employed regularly their millions of spinners and weavers, formed the basis of the structure of this society. For ages past Europe has been in receipt of the wonderful products of the Indian textile craft, giving precious metals in exchange. Thus was provided the material for the work of Indian goldsmiths who formed an indispensable constituent of Indian society, where the love for ornaments is so great that even the almost naked Indians of the poorest sections of the population usually carry a pair of gold ear-rings or some gold ornament about the neck. Rings were also generally worn on fingers and feet. Women and children frequently carried massive bracelets of gold and silver, and in the dwellings one often saw gold and silver idols.

It was the British invasion that shattered the Indian hand loom and smashed the spinning wheel to pieces. England began by displacing Indian cotton goods from the European market. Then she brought cotton yarn to Hindustan, and finally flooded with cotton from abroad the real home of cotton itself. Between 1818 and 1837 the export of yarn from Great Britain to India rose in the proportion of 1 to 5,200. In 1824 the export of British cotton goods to India amounted to hardly a million yards; in 1847 it had already exceeded a figure of 64 million yards. At the same time the population of Dacca dwindled from 150,000 to 20,000. This shrinkage of Indian cities long renowned for their fabrics was by no means the worst consequence. British steam power and British science destroyed all over India the union of agriculture and hand manufacturing industry.

These two circumstances—on the one hand, the fact that the Hindus, like all oriental peoples, left it to the central government to look after large scale public works, the basis of agriculture and trade; and, on the other hand, the fact that this agriculture and this trade, spread over the whole country, was only knit together in small centres through the domestic union of agricultural and handicraft labour—these two circumstances had led to the creation from time immemorial of a specific social system, the so-called *village system*, which gave to each of these small centres its independent organisation and its own special life.¹

These small, stereotyped forms of social organisation are for the most part in dissolution, and are on the point of vanishing, not so much owing to the brutal invasion of British tax-collectors and British soldiery, as rather to the influence of British steam engines and of British free trade. These family communities were based on home industry, with specific inclusion of hand-spinning, hand-weaving and hand-cultivated agriculture, thus making them self-supporting. The British invasion which transplanted the spinner to Lancashire and the weaver to Bengal, or swept away both the Hindu spinner and the Hindu weaver, dissolved this small half-barbarian, half-civilised community, inasmuch as it shattered its economic basis, and so carried through the greatest, and in truth the only, social revolution that Asia has ever experienced.

However heavily it may weigh on human sensibility to see how these innumerable, industrious, patriarchal and peaceful social communities have been disorganised, resolved into their constituent parts, thrown into an abyss of suffering and their separate members robbed at the same time of their ancient culture and of their inherited means of existence, it should nevertheless not be forgotten that these idyllic village communes, harmless as they may appear, have always been the firm basis of oriental despotism, have held the human mind prisoner within the narrowest horizon imaginable, have made it the pliant tool of superstition and the slave of traditional usage and have robbed it of every element of greatness and

¹Here follows in the article a description of the ancient self-contained Indian village communities with their rigid but simple division of labour, a description of which is omitted here, for it will be found reproduced in almost identical terms in Karl Marx *Capital*, Volume I. (English translation, G. H. Kerr & Co., 1918, pp. 392-394.)

of historical creative energy. Nor should there be forgotten the barbarian egoism of those who, clinging fast to a miserable scrap of soil, have looked on unmoved at the ruin of whole kingdoms, at the practice of unspeakable cruelties, at the massacre of the entire population of large cities, incapable of perceiving in all this anything beyond a simple phenomenon of Nature, and who have themselves been condemned to such impotence as to be devoured by every assailant who deigned to favour them with his attention. It should not be forgotten that this worthless, immobile, passive, vegetative existence evoked as its reaction on the other side wild aimless and unbounded powers of destruction, which in Hindustan made murder itself a religious observance. It should not be forgotten that these small communities were condemned to caste separation and to slavery, that they abased man to be the mere creature of external circumstances, instead of exalting him to be the ruler of external forces, that they transformed the social condition produced by their own special development into being considered an unalterable natural law, and thereby attained to that crude worship of nature, which in very fact revealed their own worthlessness, where man, the ruler of nature, reverently bowed the knee to Kanuman the ape and Saballa the cow.

It is true that England in setting into motion this social revolution in Hindustan was actuated solely by the lowest interests and proceeded stupidly in its endeavour to bring it about. But this is not the matter in issue. Rather the question is: can mankind fulfil its mission without a fundamental social revolution in Asia? If it cannot, then England, whatever the crimes she may have committed, has in the carrying through of this revolution acted only as the unconscious instrument of history.

II. FUTURE EFFECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

New York Daily Tribune, August 8, 1853.

How did it happen that British supremacy was established in India? The far-reaching power of the Great Mogul was broken by the Mogul's viceroys. The power of the viceroys was broken by the Mahrattas. The power of the Mahrattas was

broken by the Afghans. Then, while the fight of all against all was raging, the British burst in, and were able to subdue them all. A country in which not only Mohammedans fought against Hindus, but also race against race and caste against caste, with a society the coherence of which arose from a kind of equilibrium the result of a general mutual aversion and inborn segregation of all its members, was not such a land with such a society predestined to become the booty of conquerors? Even if we knew nothing about the history of Hindustan, would not the cardinal and indisputable fact be sufficient that up to this very moment India is held in subjection to Britain by an Indian army maintained at Indian expense? Hence India could not escape the fate of being conquered, and its whole history, so far as it is anything at all, is a history of the successive conquests of which it has been the object. Indian society in general has no history, at least no known history. What we call its history is solely the history of recurrent invaders, one giving place to the other, who founded their empires on the passive basis of this non-resistant and unchanging society. The question is not, therefore, whether the British had a right to conquer India, but whether we would have preferred to see an India conquered by the Turks, the Persians or the Russians rather than by the British.

England has a double mission to fulfil in India, a destructive and a creative; on the one hand the destruction of the old Asiatic social order, and, on the other hand, the creation of the material conditions for a western type of social order in India.

The Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Moguls, by whom India was successively over-run, were quickly Indianised, since barbarian conquerors, in obedience to an eternal law of history, always succumb to the higher civilisation of their subjects. The British were the first who were superior to the Hindu civilisation, and therefore conquerors inaccessible to its influence. They destroyed it, in that they broke in pieces the Indian community, wiped out the native industries, and levelled to the ground all that was great and exalted in Indian society. The history of British rule in India gives information of little else except destruction. As yet the signs of a re-birth have hardly begun to appear among the ruins. But, still, it has begun.

The political unity of India, which is to-day more consolidated

and extensive than ever it was under the rule of the Great Mogul, forms the first of the conditions for India's re-birth. The unity forced on the country by the British sword will be heightened and furthered by the introduction of the electric telegraph. The native army, organised and drilled by British officers and sergeants, will be the *conditio sine qua non* of Indian self-emancipation, of an India which will have ceased to become the continual prey of every foreign invader. The free press, now penetrating into Asiatic society for the first time, represents a new and powerful lever in reconstruction. The zemindari and ryotwari systems, however abominable they may be in themselves, signify, however, two pronounced forms of private property in the soil, for which Asiatic society is so greatly thirsting. Among the Indians in Calcutta, so reluctantly and cautiously trained up under British supervision, a new class is springing up which exhibits the qualities necessary for governing and which is acquainted with European science. Steam-power has brought India into regular and speedy communication with Europe. It has linked India's chief harbours with those of all the south-eastern ocean, and snatched her out of the position of isolation which was the chief basis for her stagnation. The day is no longer far-distant when, by a combination of railway and steamship, the distance between England and India, measured in time, will be reduced to eight days, and thus the one-time land of fable will be actually annexed to the western world.

The ruling classes in Great Britain have so far been interested in the progress of India only exceptionally, in passing, and from case to case. The aristocracy wanted to conquer her, the plutocracy to plunder her, and the big capitalists to exploit her. Now, however, the page has been turned. The big capitalists have discovered that the conversion of India into a producing country has acquired vital importance for them, and consequently that it is above all necessary to provide India with means for artificial irrigation and for the expansion of internal trade. They intend now to cover the whole of India with a network of railways—and they will do it. The consequences will be immeasurable.

It is a notorious fact that the productive forces of India have been paralysed by the complete lack of means for despatch and exchange of its manifold products. Nowhere more glaringly than

in India is there shown, as the result of lack of means of exchange, manifest social misery in the midst of natural superfluity. It was proved by a committee of the House of Commons in 1848 that, while grain was being sold in Kandesh for six to eight shillings a quarter, in Poona, where the people were dying of hunger in the streets, the cost of grain was 64 to 70 shillings, without it being possible for stocks to be obtained from Kandesh since the clay roads were impassable.

The introduction of railways can easily be made to serve agricultural needs, for in places where earth excavations are necessary for the building of railway embankments, water reservoirs will be made and the water distributed along the various lines. Thereby irrigation, the *conditio sine qua non* of agriculture in the East, will experience a far-going extension, and the recurrent local famines which result from lack of water will be avoided. The general significance of a railway system applied from this point of view becomes obvious as soon as we remember that an irrigated soil, even in districts in the neighbourhood of the Ghats, pays three times as much in taxes, employs ten or twelve times as many men and yields twelve to fifteen times as much profit as the same area without irrigation.

The railways will also bring about a reduction of the strength of the army and of expenses for military purposes. Captain Warren, Commander of Fort St. William, declared before a Select Committee of the House of Commons :—

The possibility of obtaining information from distant parts of the country in as many hours as at present days and even weeks are required, and of despatching instructions together with troops or stores in the quickest possible way, is a factor the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. The troops could be stationed in more remote and healthier localities than heretofore, whereby considerable loss of human life through sickness could be saved. The amount of stores required in the various depots would be less than before, whereby damage through destructive climatic influences would be avoided. The strength of the army could be decreased to an extent immediately corresponding to its power of execution.

We know that the communal administration and the economic basis of the village communities have been destroyed. Their most evil character, however, *viz.*, the dissolution of society into rigid and separate atoms, has been retained. The isolation of the

villages determined the absence of roads in India, the absence of roads in its turn perpetuated the isolation of the villages. Thus arose communities with a permanently depressed level of living conditions, persisting in a condition of almost complete lack of connections with one another, and devoid of those needs and activities from which alone social progress can spring. Now that the British have broken this inertia and self-limitation of the villages, the railways will evoke an increased need for trade and communications.

I know that the English big capitalists wish to endow India with railways solely in order to obtain cotton and other raw material for their factories at a low price. If, however, machines are once introduced into a country which possesses coal and iron, then it is impossible to prevent such a country from producing them for itself. It is impossible to maintain a railway system in a country of such huge dimensions as India without at the same time developing all those industries which are needed to fill the immediate current requirements of such a railway system. This must draw after it an application of machinery in those branches of industry which are not immediately connected with the railways. Thus the railway system in India will become in fact a forerunner of modern industry. That will be so much more the case since the British authorities themselves credit the Hindus with a special facility in adapting themselves to the requirements of completely new methods of labour, and in acquiring the necessary technical knowledge. A striking proof of this is furnished by the capacity and skill of the native engineers of the Calcutta mint, which has for years made use of steam machinery. The same is true of the Indians working the steam machinery of the coal district of Hurdwar, and in other cases. Even Mr. Campbell, however much he may be under the influences of the prejudices of the East India Company, has to allow that—

the vast mass of the Indian people possess a great industrial capacity, are well suited for the accumulation of capital, and are endowed with notable mathematical powers, capacity for reflection and talent for exact sciences.

“Their intelligence,” he says, “is remarkable.” Modern industry, developing on the basis of the railways, will do away with

the out-lived division of labour on which the caste system rests, and the chief obstacles to Indian progress and Indian power.

All that, however, which the British bourgeoisie will be compelled to bring about will neither free the mass of the people nor essentially improve its social position, which depends not only on the development of productive forces, but also on their appropriation by the people. What the bourgeoisie will do is to create the material pre-conditions for both. But has the bourgeoisie ever done more? Has it ever brought about any progress without dragging individuals and whole peoples through blood and dirt, misery and degradation?

The Indians, however, will not reap the fruits of the elements of the new society scattered amongst them by the British bourgeoisie as long as in Great Britain itself the present ruling classes are not displaced by the industrial proletariat, or the Indians themselves become sufficiently strong to shake off the British yoke once for all. In any case, in the more or less near future is to be expected with certainty a re-birth of this great and interesting country, of this noble branch of the human race, which, to use an expression of Prince Saltykov, is even in the lowest classes "*plus fin et plus adroit que les Italiens*," which even in subjection is characterised by a certain calm distinction of bearing, which in spite of its natural forbearance is able to astound the British officers by its courage, whose country was the birthplace of our languages and religions, embodying the type of the ancient Germans in the Jat, and of the ancient Greeks in the Brahmins.

I cannot leave the Indian question without saying a few words in conclusion.

The deep hypocrisy and innate barbarity of bourgeois culture is revealed before our eyes as soon as we turn from our home, where it assumes respectable manners, to the colonies, where it appears in all its nakedness. The bourgeoisie is the protector of property. But where has a revolutionary party ever carried through such an agrarian revolution as in Bengal, Madras and Bombay? Has not the bourgeoisie in India, to employ the phrase of that great robber Lord Clive himself, taken refuge in cruel extortion when simple corruption could no longer keep pace with its rapacity? Has it not, while in Europe it chattered of the inviolable sanctity of the

national debt, in India confiscated the dividends of the Rajahs who had invested their private savings in the securities of the East India Company ? Has it not, while it fought the French revolution under the pretext of the defence of " our holy religion," at the same time forbidden the propaganda of Christianity in India ? Has it not, in order to extract money from the pilgrims streaming to the temples of Orissa and Bengal, made a trade for itself out of the murder and prostitution of the temple of Juggernaut ? This is how appear the men of " property, order, the family and religion " !

The destructive effects of British industry on India, a country as large as Europe and covering 150 million acres, are obvious and terrible. But we should not forget that they represent solely the organic result of the whole system of production, in the form which it has taken at the present time. This production has as its basis the unrestricted rule of capital. The concentration of capital is of essential significance for the existence of capital as an independent power. The destructive effects exerted by this concentration of capital on the markets of the world only discloses in gigantic dimensions the imminent laws of political economy which to-day are in operation in every city in the civilised world. The bourgeois period of history has to create the material basis for a new world : on the one hand, world trade and the means for this trade based on the dependence of nations on one another; on the other hand, the development of human productive forces and the transformation of material production into scientific mastery of natural forces.

Bourgeois industry and bourgeois trade fashion these material pre-conditions for a new world in the same way that geological revolutions fashion the face of the earth. Only when a great social revolution has mastered the work of the bourgeois epoch, the world market and the modern means of production, only then for the first time will human progress cease to resemble that loathsome heathen deity which would only drink nectar from the skulls of its slaughtered victims.

LOCARNO AND AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

By W. N. EWER

TO see a painting clearly one must stand well back from it. Proverbially at close hand one cannot see the wood for the trees. And so it is in politics. The near view of events is often, even generally, singularly incorrect. One is a little bewildered by the detail, a little bemused by the chatter of the moment.

And so this business of the Locarno Treaties will, I think, become a little more understandable if one moves a little away from it—say a hundred leagues and a hundred years in space and time. Forward we cannot go, except in imagination ; so let us try backwards. I think we may find Charlemagne's old capital of Aachen in the autumn of 1818 a curiously useful spot and time for our purpose. For at that time and in that place there was also a Conference of the Powers in being : the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle, as English history books, preferring the French name for a German town, usually call it. A pleasant Conference—"I have never seen a prettier " wrote one of the protagonists to his wife.

The first point we shall note is how curiously like is the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle, seen at close hand, to the Conference of Locarno.

A great war had been finished a few years before. A great Imperial power had been beaten by a Grand Alliance. She had been condemned to pay to the victors reparations beyond her capacity. Armies of Occupation were in her Rhine territories. She was still, though she had changed her form of government, a half-pariah state, suspected of hankering after the fallen régime, of harbouring projects of revenge.

How to obtain reparations, how to withdraw the armies of occupation, how to assure permanence for the treaty settlement which had ended the war, how to bring the outcast nation back into the European comity, how above all to obtain " the best

security for a durable peace" : these were the ostensible purposes of Aix-la-Chapelle, as of Locarno.

Even in the details the parallels are eerily precise. The intervention of the bankers—at no small profit to themselves—in the Reparations settlement : the canvassing of great schemes uniting all Europe in a pact of guarantee : the successful insistence of British statesmen that "all notions of general and unqualified guarantee must be abandoned in favour of limited agreements" : the worry caused to those same statesmen by the aversion of British public opinion to any European commitments : their constant pre-occupation with the necessity of finding formulae which would enable them either to justify their acts to, or to conceal them from, Parliament. At Aix-la-Chapelle, as at Locarno, they even debated the questions whether a guaranteeing power might march troops across Europe to enforce a guarantee, and whether the Council of Allied Ambassadors should be liquidated or retained in being for a little while.

Aix-la-Chapelle, like Locarno, was a triumphant success. Difficulties which had appeared all but insoluble vanished in a new atmosphere of goodwill. There had, indeed, to be care exercised in draughtsmanship. But the requisite formulae were forthcoming, and the unanimity was wonderful. The Reparations tangle had already been solved by the good—and remunerative—offices of Messrs. Baring and their colleagues. But it was the merit of the Conference to have solved the even more vexing problems of peace and security. The withdrawal of the armies of occupation was ordered : France was welcomed again into the comity of nations. A nice mixture of idealism and common sense created a European unity without sacrificing national independence. An equally fine balance satisfied at once those who wished Britain to play her due rôle as a guarantor of the new peace and those who dreaded her assumption of European obligations. Above all the mists of suspicion and mutual fear which had hung over the Continent as a result of the long war and the dictated peace had been dissipated and replaced by a purer atmosphere. Castlereagh, who had so ably about the same time secured the peace of the world and safeguarded the interests of his country, returned in triumph to receive the thanks of his Sovereign, the congratulations of his colleagues

and the applause of Parliament. Only a disgruntled and disreputable opposition group dared to criticise the work of the Conference and to impute sinister motives to the activities of the peace making diplomats.

So Aix-la-Chapelle appeared to those who saw it close at hand, just over a century ago. "It is," wrote the enthusiastic American Ambassador, "a compact between the five principal European powers for the preservation of universal peace."

But, seen at a distance, as we see it now, this prettiest of conferences has quite another aspect. We have the double advantage of being able to judge it by its fruits and of having access to much that was carefully hidden at the time both from American Ambassadors and from the public. Diplomats were no less cautious and secretive folk in those days than now. And the real purposes of the diplomacy of the conference were discreetly hidden. Castlereagh, in particular, hampered—as his Prussian, Austrian and Russian colleagues were not—by the constant fear of Parliament, had over and over again to remind them of the need for discretion. And so, as Gentz, who acted as secretary of the conference, noted, "they carefully avoided giving opportunities for malevolence or indiscretion by putting into the formal documents wishes or declarations of which each carried the principle in mind, but the enunciation of which would have provoked vexatious and hostile criticism."

Aix-la-Chapelle, as we see it now, was not at bottom concerned with the preservation of universal peace, but with the preservation of the old order against the menace of "the democratic principles"—the phrase is Castlereagh's—"but too generally spread throughout Europe." It was the prelude to Peterloo, to the Six Acts, to the Carlsbad Decrees, to the armed suppression of the popular movements in Spain and Italy. It was the Alliance of Governments against peoples. If the Powers agreed to forgo or to settle peaceably their differences with each other, their motive was not pacifism but fear. They laid aside their quarrels in order that the old régimes—whether autocratic or oligarchic—might present a united front towards the new danger. Gentz in his confidential memorandum to Metternich on the achievements of the Conference is nakedly frank. "The nucleus of organised strength which this union presents is the barrier which Providence itself seems to have raised to

preserve the old order." While Metternich himself, in writing to his Emperor just before the Conference, notes rather naively that the "first notion" must be peace, "and that the fundamental idea of peace is the security of property."

Not peace then, but universal oppression, was the outcome, and indeed the prime purpose, of the Aix-la-Chapelle Conference. It is often assumed that in this régime of oppression the British government refused to play its part. That is a delusion, carefully created and fostered by Castlereagh for political reasons. On the morrow of the conference his parliamentary position weakened. The opposition became stronger and more vigorous. He did not dare to join overtly in the repressive activities on the Continent. But he gave them all the support he dared. "He is," wrote the Austrian Ambassador to his chief, "like a great lover of music who is at church : he wishes to applaud but he dare not." "We are always," he himself wrote to Metternich, "pleased to see evil germs destroyed without the power to give our approbation openly." And again, "we can aid you far more by our actions than by our words." At home the Liverpool-Castlereagh government did its bit enthusiastically. Peterloo follows Aix-la-Chapelle in its list of honours.

Seen from far off, in historical perspective, the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle, then, presents an appearance very different from that which it presented to observers near at hand. The professions of peace are seen to have been mere rhetoric. The rulers of the Great Powers are seen to have come together not under the urge of lofty ideals but under the pressure of a common fear. Their alliance was a bond not of peace, but of resistance to the common danger threatening their prerogatives. A "*faisceau moral*" Metternich termed it. The phrase has a prophetic and sinister aptitude. The English for "*faisceau*" is "bundle" : but the Italian is "*fascio*."

Is it otherwise with Locarno, whose "close-up" appearance presents so curiously close a resemblance to that of Aix-la-Chapelle? Step back, clear of the illusions of the moment, clear of the rhetoric, clear of the glittering atmosphere. Is not Locarno at a distance still singularly like Aix-la-Chapelle?

The statesmen of Locarno talk the same sonorous platitudes as

the statesmen of Aix-la-Chapelle. But their assurances are as valueless as those of their predecessors. Mr. Chamberlain and M. Briand, Herr Stresemann and Signor Mussolini, are no more pacifists and idealists at heart than were Castlereagh and Metternich. Not even the sunshine of Lake Maggiore can bleach the Ethiopian skin of diplomacy. And these men who have for years been devotees of force and exponents of Imperialism have not changed miraculously in an hour.

The governments of the four great Powers of Locarno, like the governments of the five great Powers of Aix-la-Chapelle, are reactionary governments, concerned above all at the present juncture for the preservation of the old order against clearly threatening dangers. And it is this preoccupation which has driven them into a temporary unity. As France in 1818, so Germany in 1925 is brought into the fold, not from any Christian motive of forgiveness, but from the fear lest isolated she may lend aid and support to the opposition.

The dangers which threaten the established order to-day, though more complex, are not dissimilar from those which threatened in 1818. Then there were the democratic movement at home and the national resurgence in the Mediterranean countries. To-day there are the working-class movements at home, the national awakenings in Asia and Northern Africa. And there is also Soviet Russia.

England is conscious that she must strain every nerve if she is to hold her Eastern Empire in subjection. France is already hard pressed in Syria and Morocco. Italy is by no means sure of her existing colonies and yet is greedy for more. All of them are faced at the same time by internal economic difficulties—haunted by the fear of working-class revolt. It is a situation imperatively calling for a truce to inter-governmental quarrels and for a closing of the ranks. Equally it calls for the conciliation of Germany and for her inclusion in a common system with her late enemies. For there is clear danger lest an ostracised Germany may lean towards Russia, may lean towards Turkey, may use her nascent economic strength, and the influence which it gives, to combat instead of to support the Allied domination in the East.

It is this need for a united front which explains in particular

England's Locarno policy ; and it was English diplomacy, skilfully working in Berlin, which started the whole business. For Germany and for France there are evident advantages in the pacts themselves and in the assurances—as to the Rhineland, as to commercial credits and so on—which accompany them. But for England Locarno is, on the surface, all give and no take. She assumes heavy military obligations. She has made expensive financial promises. Directly she gets no return. But indirectly she gets that which she needs most of all—the assurance of support, or at the least of benevolent neutrality, in her struggle to hold her Eastern Empire.

It is in the East that the key to British foreign policy lies, as it has lain for a century past. India, the new Empire between India and the Mediterranean, and the quasi-Empire in China are her chief concerns. Even the hostility of British Imperialism to the Soviet Union is based far more upon Asiatic anxieties than upon class prejudices. Russia is regarded in Downing Street as the “traitor” power, the blackleg of Imperialism. Her deepest crime is that she has broken the European phalanx. She has dared to treat Asiatics as comrades and partners, not as exploitable subjects. She has “gone native.”

Persia and Afghanistan it is hoped may be penetrated and controlled. That leaves in Western Asia two strong powers which are at least potential enemies, and whose very existence provides an inspiration and a rallying point for the nationalist movements within the Eastern Empire. To isolate those two powers—precisely as Metternich aimed to isolate the democratically-tending states of Spain and Naples—is the obvious first task of British diplomacy.

And for that a *rapprochement* with Germany is as essential to Chamberlain as was a *rapprochement* with France to Metternich. Germany in isolation and conscious of her ostracism might seek alliance with Soviet Russia, might re-establish intimate relations with the new Turkey. Perhaps at the moment the second was the more dreaded possibility. Locarno puts an end to both. Russia must abandon any hope she may have had in Berlin. Turkey must face the Mosul issue knowing that she cannot look for German support, either diplomatic or financial or technical. Britain can face her Eastern problems without fear of complications in the West.

The Imperialist Powers, having called a truce to their own dissensions, having agreed to forget old grievances, can present—precisely as after Aix-la-Chapelle—a united front to discontent at home and to nationalism in their dependencies. The aftermath of the one as of the other will be not peace but a sharper conflict between repression and revolt. The West is preparing not for the millennium but for the struggle with the East. It is as the prologue to that struggle, not as the epilogue to the German war, that the historian will see Locarno.

The Communist Trial

As we go to press on the night that the verdict and the sentences have been made known, we are compelled to defer till next month our comments on this first attempt at suppressing the revolutionary working-class movement in this country.

TOWARDS SOCIALISM OR TOWARDS CAPITALISM ?

By L. TROTSKY*

III

The Growth of Productive Forces.

THE rapid restoration of our productive forces has now become a well-known fact, and it could not have been better illustrated than by the tables of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan). The output of agricultural produce in 1924-25, including as it did the bad harvest of 1924, amounted to 71 per cent. of that of the good harvest year of 1913 (calculated in each case in values at pre-war prices). The value of the produce of 1925-26, which will include the good harvest of 1925, will undoubtedly exceed that of 1913, and will probably not be far off from that of 1911. Although during the last few years the grain crops have never reached three milliard poods, the harvest of the present year is estimated to yield about 4.1 milliard poods.

The value of the output of our industries during the past economic year has now reached 71 per cent. of the prosperous year 1913. In the coming year it will certainly be 95 per cent. of that of 1913. That is to say, the process of restoration will have been practically completed. If we remember that in 1920 our output only reached a fifth, or even a sixth, of the capacity of the factories, we see how rapid has been the rate of restoration. The output of State industry has more than trebled since 1921. Our exports, which this year had not yet reached half a milliard roubles, promise to reach considerably over a milliard. Our imports are developing similarly. The State Budget, which last year totalled two and a-half milliard roubles, will this year exceed three and a-half milliards. The quality of our goods is far above that of the first or second years of the new economic policy. Thus, to the

* Concluded from THE LABOUR MONTHLY, November 25, 1925, Vol. VII, No. 11, p. 659.

question of the development of our productive forces, we get a clear reassuring reply. The "liberation" of the market has given a powerful impetus to our productive forces.

But it is precisely the fact that it is from the market—from a capitalist element—that the impetus has come, which has fed and is feeding the malevolence of the bourgeois theoreticians and politicians. The nationalisation of industry and the planned orderly methods of conducting the national economy had been hopelessly compromised by the very fact of the transition to the new economic policy, and still more by the undoubted economic success of the latter. This is the reason why only the reply to our second question regarding the social forms of our economy can give a socialist estimate of our development. The growth of the productive forces, for instance, in Canada, is nourished by United States capital. A similar growth is proceeding in India in the face of the pressure of colonial exploitation. Finally, in the form of restoration of productive forces, it has been going on in 1924 in Germany, in spite of the application of the Dawes Plan. In all these cases we have to deal with capitalist development. In Germany, the nationalisation and socialisation plans, which were so flourishing—at any rate, in the bulky volumes of the armchair socialists and Kautskyites in 1919 and 1920—have now been abandoned as useless rubbish, and under the cruel guidance of America, the principle of private capitalist initiative, in spite of the fact that its teeth have either been lost or knocked out, is now in its second youth. And how are we off in this respect? In what social forms does the development of our productive forces proceed? Are we going towards capitalism or towards socialism?

The preliminary condition for socialist economy is the nationalisation of the means of production. Has this preliminary condition been maintained under the new economic policy? Has the introduction of market commodity forms of distribution in any way weakened nationalisation, or has it strengthened it?

The comprehensive tables of the Gosplan supply invaluable material for estimating the mutual relations and struggles between the socialist and capitalist tendencies of our national economy. We have here absolutely indisputable "control" figures which

refer to basic capital, to output, to trading capital, and generally to the most important economic processes in the country.

The figures characterising the distribution of basic capital are the most subject to reservation, but this affects far more the absolute figures than their relative value and at the present moment we are chiefly interested in the latter. According to the calculations of the Gosplan, at the beginning of the economic year, 1924-25, the capital funds of the State amounted, at the most moderate estimate, to not less than 11.7 milliard chervonetz roubles ; that of the co-operatives, to 0.5 milliard roubles ; and that of private, mainly peasant, enterprise, to 7.5 milliard roubles. This signifies that, in the sphere of the means of production, over 62 per cent. of the total has been socialised, and that the technically most up-to-date. Only 38 per cent. of the means of production has not been socialised.

As regards agriculture, here it is not so much a question of the nationalisation of the land, as of the liquidation of the landed estate owners. The confirmation of this process is most instructive. The liquidation of the landed estate owners, and of land ownership other than peasant in general, has resulted in the almost total liquidation of large agricultural enterprises, including even those conducted on more modern lines. This was one of the reasons, although a secondary one, of the temporary falling off of our agricultural economy. But we now know that the present year's harvest will raise our agricultural produce to practically the pre-war level without the help of landed estate owners, and without farms conducted on "cultured" capitalist lines. And yet we are only at the very beginning of our liberation from the agricultural methods of the landed estate owners. Consequently the abolition of the nobility, and of all its breeding grounds, and even the barbarian transformation, of which our righteous mensheviks were afraid, has been completely justified by the economic results. This is the first and a not unimportant conclusion.

As regards the nationalisation of the land, in view of the widespread small-scale farms of the peasantry, the principle of the nationalisation of the land could not be properly realised. The popular tinsel which inevitably covered socialisation in the first period has equally inevitably fallen from it. At the same time

the significance of nationalisation as a fundamental socialist measure in a State where the workers rule, has been made sufficiently clear for its important rôle in the further development of agriculture to be understood. Thanks to the nationalisation of the land, we have assured to the State unlimited possibilities in the sphere of land arrangement and distribution. No barriers of private individual or group ownership will be able to hinder the adaptation of the forms of land utilisation to the needs of our productive processes. At the present time, the means of production of agriculture have only been socialised to the extent of 4 per cent. The rest of the 96 per cent. is in the private hands of the peasants. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that the agricultural means of production, both peasant and State, forms little more than one-third of the whole of the means of production of the Soviet Union. It is unnecessary to explain that the full significance of the nationalisation of the land will only manifest itself as a result of advanced development of agricultural technique, and of the consequent collectivisation of agriculture, that is to say, in the course of a number of years. But it is just in this direction that we are going.

IV

The Share of State Industry

It was quite evident to us, as Marxists, even before the revolution, that the socialist reorganisation of our economy would start with industry and transport, and would spread from that to the villages. Consequently the statistical valuation of the work of our nationalised industry is of fundamental importance in the socialist estimation of the present transition forms of our economy.

In the sphere of industry the means of production have been socialised to the extent of 89 per cent, and if railway transport is included, to 97 per cent., whilst in large-scale industry alone, 99 per cent. of the means of production have been nationalised. These figures prove that so far as the nationalisation of property is concerned, there has been no alteration to the detriment of the State. This alone is of very great importance. But we are principally interested in another question, namely, the proportion contributed by the socialised means of production in the annual output of our industry. That is to say, to what extent does the State utilise the resources in its hands ?

The comprehensive tables of the Gosplan give the following answer. The State and co-operative industries in 1923-24 were responsible for 76.3 per cent. of the gross output. This year they are contributing 79.3 per cent., whilst next year they are estimated to yield 79.7 per cent. Private industry, therefore, provided in 1923-24, 23.7 per cent. of the output ; in 1924-25, 20.7 per cent. and next year it is estimated to yield 20.3 per cent. Apart from the cautious estimate figures for the coming year, the comparison of the dynamics of State and private production is of colossal importance. We see that during last year and the current year, that is to say, in years of intense economic progress, the share of State industry increased by 3 per cent., while that of the private industries decreased by that amount. This percentage is the measure for this short period of the growing preponderance of socialism over capitalism. This percentage may appear insignificant, but in reality its symptomatic significance is enormous, as we shall show below.

Wherein lay the danger in the transition to the new economic policy during the first few years ? The danger lay in this, that, as a result of the complete exhaustion of the country, the State might prove powerless in a sufficiently short period to raise up on its shoulders the big industrial enterprises. In view of the fact that the big enterprises worked to only a small fraction of their capacity (in some cases only 10 to 20 per cent. of their pre-war capacity) the middle, small and even handicraft enterprises might possibly have outweighed the larger enterprises by their mobility. The so-called "relinquishing" of enterprises during the first period, which was the socialist reward to capitalism for setting into operation the factories and workshops which had been confiscated from it, threatened to transfer into the hands of the traders, middlemen, and speculators, a large proportion of State property. The handicraft enterprises and the small-master workshops were the first to revive in the atmosphere of the new economic policy. The union of private trading capital with small private, including home, industry might have led to a fairly rapid process of primary capitalist accumulation.

Under these conditions it was possible that progress would be so slow that the reins of economic guidance might be wrested from the hands of the working-class State. By this we do not, of course,

mean to say that every temporary, or even prolonged increase in the relative specific gravity of private industry as compared with industry as a whole, necessarily threatened catastrophic or even very serious results. Quality here, too, depends on quantity. Even had our statistics shown that the specific gravity of private capitalist production had increased by 1, 2 or 3 per cent. during the last two or three years, this would by no means have rendered the position threatening. The State output would still have consisted of three-quarters of the total output, and the restoration of the lost rate of development would have been quite a possible task, seeing that large scale industry is working to greater and greater capacity. Had private capitalism increased the output of its industries by 5 per cent. to 10 per cent., we should have had to take the fact seriously into account. But even such a result during the first period of restoration would by no means have signified that nationalisation was economically unsound. The conclusion would simply have been that the most heavy section of the nationalised industries had not yet manifested the necessary rate of development. It is, therefore, the more important that as a result of the first, purely restoration period, and the most dangerous and difficult period of the new economic policy, nationalised industry had not only not lost ground, but, on the contrary, had succeeded in outstripping private capitalist industry by 3 per cent. This is the great symptomatic significance of this small figure.

Our conclusions will become still clearer if we take the figures relating not only to output, but to the trade turnover. During the first half-year of 1923, private capital accounted for nearly 50 per cent. of the middleman trade. In the second half-year, it accounted for 34 per cent. ; in 1924-25, nearly 26 per cent. In other words, the specific gravity of private capital in the middleman trade has been reduced by nearly 50 per cent. during these two years. This has not been attained by the exertion of pressure on trade, for during this period the turnover of the State and co-operative trading organisations was more than doubled. Thus, not only private industry, but also private trade, is playing a diminishing social rôle and this in spite of a general increase in the productive forces and the trade turnover. The estimates for the coming year show, as we have already seen, a further diminution, true, a small one, in the relative importance of

private industry and private trade. The victory of State industry over private industry need not be imagined as forming necessarily a continuously ascending line. There may be periods when the State, secure in the knowledge of its economic power, and endeavouring to increase the rate of development, consciously permits the relative specific gravity of private enterprise to increase : in agriculture, in the form of "solid"—that is, capitalist farms ; in industry, and also in agriculture, in the form of concessions. Taking into account the heterogeneous character of the greater proportion of our private industries, it would be rather naïve to think that every increase in the relative proportion of private production above its present proportion of 20.7 per cent. would signify some imminent menace to our socialist construction. In general, it would be incorrect to endeavour to fix here any hard and fast rule. It is not a question of formal limits, but rather of the general dynamics of the development. A study of these dynamics proves that, in the most difficult period, when the large enterprises manifested rather their negative than their positive advantages, the State came out successfully from the struggle against the first attack of private capital. During the period of very rapid development in the last two years, the relation between the economic forces arising from the revolutionary transformation, constantly, and according to plan, assumed a favourable position as regards the State. Now, when the fundamental position is stronger and more reliable than ever, as shown by the single fact that the large enterprises are now working to 100 per cent. of their capacity, there can be no ground whatever for fearing anything unexpected happening, at any rate so far as the internal factors of our national economy are concerned.

V

The Worker-Peasant Alliance.

As regards the question of the peasant and worker alliance (*smychka*) that is to say, the co-ordination of the economic work of the towns and villages, the comprehensive tables of the Gosplan give fundamental, and for that reason highly convincing, facts.¹

¹In this, as in other cases, I do not mean to say that the facts in the tables are all new. But they have been verified, revised, and systematised so as to include the whole of the national economy. It is this which makes them so exceptionally important.

It can be seen from the tables that the peasants throw on the market less than a third of their gross produce, and these agricultural commodities constitute more than a third of all the trade turnover.

The relation between the value of the mass of agricultural and industrial commodities varies but slightly, the proportion being about 37 to 63. This signifies that, estimated not in poods, arshines, &c., but in roubles, agricultural goods on the market constitute a little over a third, and industrial or town goods a little under two-thirds. This is due to the fact that the villages satisfy their needs to a large extent without recourse to the market, whereas the towns throw on the market practically the whole of their produce. About two-thirds of the heterogeneous mass of the peasantry do not participate in the general trade turnover, and only one-third influence directly the national economy of the country. The whole of the produce of industry, on the other hand, by its very nature participates directly in the State turnover, since the "natural" turnover within industry itself (through the trusts and syndicates) which diminishes the amount of commodities by 11 per cent., not only does not lower, but on the contrary raises the influence of industry on the general economic process.

If, however, the agricultural produce consumed by the producers themselves does not influence the market, it does not signify that this part of the produce has no influence upon the national economy in general. It constitutes in the present state of our economy the natural necessary complement of that third of the total commodities thrown upon the market by the peasantry. This third in its turn constitutes the value for which the country demands the equivalent from the towns. We thus see the gigantic importance in the general economy of the country of the produce of the countryside as a whole, and of that third of the commodities which it supplies to the market in particular. The sale of the harvest and, in particular, the export operations in connection therewith have become important factors in the annual economic balance sheet. The mechanism of the alliance between country and town is becoming more and more complex. The question is no longer limited to the number of bushels of peasant grain which can be exchanged for a particular number of yards of calico. Our

economy has now entered the world system. This has resulted in the forging of a new link in the union of town and country. Peasant grain is now being exchanged for foreign gold. Gold is exchanged for machines, implements and the various other articles required by town and village. Textile machinery obtained in exchange for the gold received from the export of grain re-equips the textile industry, and thereby reduces the price of cloth sent into the villages. The general process of circulation has become much more complex, but the basis of it remains as before the definite economic relation between town and village.

We must not, however, forget for a moment that this relation is a dynamic one, and that the leading rôle in this complex dynamic process is played by industry. This signifies that although the product of agriculture, and particularly its commodity portion, determines to a certain extent the limits of the development of industry, these limits are not hard and fast. This means that industry may develop even by a greater sum than that represented by the increase in the harvest. The mutual relations are even more complex. Industry, while depending mainly on the countryside, and developing as a result of the development of the latter, nevertheless more and more becomes itself a big market for its own products.

At the present time, when both agriculture and industry are nearing the end of the process of restoration, industry becomes more and more the driving force in development. The problem of the influence of the town on the socialist development of the countryside, not only by means of cheap articles of consumption, but by the perfection of the implements used in agriculture, which necessitates a collective form of working the land, now confronts industry in concrete and immediate forms.

The socialist transformation of agriculture will of course be brought about, not simply by means of co-operation as a mere form of organisation but through co-operation based upon the introduction of machinery into agriculture, its electrification, and generally its industrialisation. This signifies that both the technical and socialist progress of agriculture cannot be separated from the growing relative importance of industry in the general economy of the country. And this in its turn means that, in the further economic

development, the dynamic coefficient of industry will, at first slowly, and then more and more rapidly, overtake the dynamic coefficient of agriculture, until there will no longer be any opposition between them.

VI.

Conclusions

The output of industry in 1924-25 exceeded the output of the previous year by 48 per cent. In 1925-26, the output is estimated to exceed that of 1924-25 by 33 per cent., if the reduction in prices is not taken into account. But the various branches of industry are not developing at exactly the same rate. The large-scale enterprises increased their output by 64 per cent. ; the second group, which we may call the middle group, increased their output by 55 per cent. ; whilst for the small enterprises the increase was only 30 per cent. We have thus reached a position when the advantage of the large enterprises over the middle and small ones is already very apparent. This, however, in no way signifies that we have already reached the possible limit of development of a socialist economy. In so far as it is a question here of the greater productivity of the large enterprises in comparison with the middle and small ones, we are here only reaping advantages such as are inherent in the nature of big enterprises even under capitalism. We are only just entering upon the fundamental problems of socialist industry, such as the standardisation of products on a national scale, the specialisation of enterprises, the conversion of factories into powerful sections of a unified All-Union productive organisation, and the establishment of systematic material relations in the productive processes of all branches of industry. All this will provide us with the possibility of exceeding the old scale of our production within a few years. But this is a task of the future, and need not be discussed now.

So far the advantages of State direction of national economy were not utilised in the sphere of production itself, that is to say, in the organisation and co-ordination of the material processes, but in the sphere only of productive distribution, *e.g.*, the supplying separate branches of industry with raw material, equipment, and so on. Or, to speak in the language of the market, it has been limited to supplying industry with working, and to a certain

extent with basic, capital. Not bound by the limits of private property, the State was able, through its State Budget, through the State bank, through the Industrial Bank and similar organisations, to transfer at any given moment its resources wherever they might be most necessary, for the support, for the restoration, or for the development of the economic process. This advantage of socialist economy within the last few years proved a veritable salvation for the national economy. In spite of mistakes often made in the distribution of funds, we have nevertheless distributed them on the whole far more economically and expediently than could possibly have been done had the restoration of industry been proceeding under capitalist forms of production. Only thanks to this have we been able in such a short period to reach the present level without the help of foreign loans.

But this does not exhaust the question. The economy and therefore the social expediency of socialism has also shown itself in this, that it has freed the process of the restoration of our national economy from the overhead charges of a parasitic class. We are approaching now the level of output of 1913, whereas the country is now considerably poorer than it was before the war. This signifies that we are attaining a corresponding productivity with less social overhead charges : such as the monarchy, the nobility, the bourgeoisie, the privileged section of the intelligentsia, and finally, the frenzied friction inherent in the capitalist mechanism itself². It is precisely thanks to our socialist methods that we have been able to mobilise the still very limited material resources directly for productive purposes, and in this way to facilitate the raising of the

² Deposits and current accounts in 1924-25 consisted on an average of not more than 11 per cent. of the deposits of 1913. At the end of the next year, this proportion will reach, it is estimated, 36 per cent. This is one of the most striking signs of the paucity of our savings. But precisely this fact that, with our deposits and current accounts only 11 per cent. of the pre-war, our industry has reached 75 per cent. of pre-war, proves most clearly that the workers' and peasants' State administers the public resources far more economically, expediently and in a more orderly manner than does the bourgeois régime.

The fact that the rate of development of the transport system is slower than that of agriculture and industry, is explained to a large extent by the fact that, in pre-war days, imports and exports played a far more important rôle than they do at present. This is another witness to the fact that we are approaching the pre-war level of industry, although we have more moderate national resources, but at the same time also more moderate overhead expenses than in 1913.

standard of living of the people of our country during the next stage of development.

We have, therefore, on the nationalised land, a heterogeneous peasant economy, the commodity production of which only slightly exceeds one-third of the value of the commodities circulating in the market. The nationalised capital of agriculture constitutes but 4 per cent. of the total.

The basic capital of our industry is nationalised to the extent of 89 per cent., and it is this nationalised industry which yields 79 per cent. of the total gross industrial output. The 11 per cent. of non-nationalised industrial means of production yield, therefore, 21 per cent. of the gross output of industry.³ The share of the State industry in the total output is increasing.

Railway transport is nationalised to the full 100 per cent., and is continually being extended. In 1921-22, the transport system carried out only 25 per cent. of the volume of work of pre-war days. In 1922-23, it carried out 37 per cent. ; in 1923-24, 44 per cent. ; and in 1924-25, it will have been over 50 per cent. ; whilst in 1925-26, it is estimated that the proportion will be 75 per cent.

In the sphere of trade, nationalised (that is to say, State and co-operative) capital constitutes 70 per cent. of the total capital engaged in trade, and this proportion is growing continuously.

Foreign trade is completely nationalised, and the State monopoly of foreign trade forms a cornerstone of our policy in this sphere. The value of the total turnover of our foreign trade in 1925-26 is estimated to reach 2,200 million roubles, and the private capital invested in this, even if we add contraband to it, which would be quite correct, will scarcely reach 5 per cent. The banks and the credit system in general have been nationalised almost to the full 100 per cent., and this powerful and growing credit machinery is becoming more and more flexible, and is performing its task of accumulating all the spare resources of the country for

³ This want of correspondence between the means of production and the output is explained in the first instance in the difference of the organic constitution of capital. It is natural if, in the small and handicraft industries, equipment is comparatively insignificant as compared with the amount of living labour power indiscriminately employed. To this must be added, on the other side of the picture, the fact that our largest enterprises, such as our giant metallurgical workshops, are not working to anywhere near their full capacity.

the purpose of nourishing the productive processes in a very capable manner.

The State Budget now amounts to 3.7 milliard roubles, forming 13 per cent. of the gross national income (29 milliard roubles) or 24 per cent. of the value of the mass of commodities (15,200 million roubles). The Budget is more and more becoming a powerful factor in the economic and cultural growth of the country.

Such are the figures of the Gosplan tables. The facts given there are of world historic importance. The continuous activities of the socialists, which began with the utopian socialists, and developed subsequently into a scientific theory, and which have lasted for over one hundred years, have for the first time been verified by a mighty economic experiment, now in its ninth year. All that has been written on socialism and capitalism, on liberty and compulsion, on dictatorship and democracy, all this has gone through the furnace of the October Revolution and the Soviet economic experience, and is now confronting us in a new and far more concrete form. The Gosplan figures sum up, may be in a rough and only a preliminary form, the first results of the first concrete experiment seeking to transform bourgeois society into a socialist society, and we see that this summing up is completely in favour of socialism. No country in the world was so ruined and exhausted by a whole series of wars as Soviet Russia. All the capitalist countries, without exception, however much they suffered from the war, were restored with the help of foreign capital. Only the Soviet country, which in the past was the most backward, and which was most ruined and exhausted by the war and by revolutionary upheavals, recovered from its complete destitution by its own efforts and in spite of the active antagonism of the whole capitalist world. Only thanks to the complete expropriation of the large landowner, the abolition of bourgeois property, only thanks to the nationalisation of the fundamental means of production, only thanks to the State socialist methods of mobilising and distributing all the most necessary resources, has the Soviet Union risen from its chaos, and becomes an ever more powerful factor in world economy. The comprehensive tables of the Gosplan lead back in an unbroken thread to the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, and they lead forward to the future socialist society. Over all these dry columns of figures hovers the spirit of Lenin.

LABOUR RESEARCH

By MAURICE H. DOBB

IN the individualist class society of the nineteenth century research was a matter left to the haphazard whims of a few learned individuals of leisure. Indeed, the free and leisurely life of the "older universities" is often praised as giving scope for the browsing "don" to pursue untroubled his contemplative researching way. One has a love for the cloudy realms of "probability" and the "why" of the universe—problems which only assume perfect clearness in an atmosphere of old port and college ivy. Another has a feeling for the parchments of mediæval monasteries or the tablets of the ancient Nile; and of his browsing among these precious things in his grey hairs he produces a tome. And the more evidently is the work a product of leisure—erudite, polished and recondite—and the further removed from the clamouring needs of the dusty paths of life, the more honourable is the learning deemed to be.

With the coming of monopoly capitalism, when the big capitalist discovered the need for means to bring whole continents under his sway, a new tendency appeared. The capitalist clamoured for science to be made his servant, while the appearance of Big Business provided bodies with the funds available for financing research for specific industrial ends and employing scientists directly as their servants. Heavy-booted science began to elbow the slippered classic in the "seats of learning"; and the economist and sociologist in a new zest for the "practical" came down from the clouds to invent ways of scientifically exploiting backward countries, conciliating and scientifically managing labour, perfecting the arts of sale and advertisement, and improving the working of the money and credit system. To the joy of Fabian collectivists a new function was found for the State in financing and encouraging scientific research. Scientific workers began to form their professional organisations (*e.g.*, the National Union of Scientific Workers) to further the interests of science with a capital S, and to agitate for the endowment of science in the same way as the capitalists of, say, the silk industry might agitate for the protection

or subsidisation of their trade. Smiled on by collectivists and hailed by scientific workers themselves, science became the handmaid of monopoly capitalism (in Germany most notably of all) and the scientific worker the pampered slave of Big Business.

Faced with this situation, the workers' movement, strange to say, almost entirely failed to adopt any definite and independent attitude of its own towards scientific research. On the one hand, the official leaders of the movement, being collectivists, merely joined in the general appraisal of science with a capital S and of the endowment of research by Big Business and the capitalist State. The rank and file worker, on the other hand, seeing the scientist everywhere aligned against him in service to the capitalist, tended to be obstinately independent in brave contempt for all such things.

It needs little argument to show that in a workers' State, when the workers control the economic life of the community, science will be even more needed in the service of the State and of production than it is needed by Big Business to-day. It will be even more needed precisely because the workers' State will not merely take over the technique of industry which capitalism has developed, but will need to plan and organise economic life in a more perfect way—planning and organising consciously what capitalism leaves to the chance of the market—and because it will have new needs to fulfil in the lightening of human toil and the raising of the standard of life of the masses. And only the attainment of power by the workers, setting up a workers' State, can divorce science from its present unholy union and turn it to the service of the workers. This latter problem, therefore—the problem of the workers' struggle for power—must take precedence over every other problem, and must at the present stage dominate our attitude towards science and research.

How, if at all, can research be utilised in the service of the workers to this end?

In answering this, the question of science in the wider sense does not at the moment arise: the work of the chemist and the engineer, the mathematician, the geologist and the physicist can only be utilised by the workers when the workers themselves control industry for the collective good. At present the problem is

confined to the work of the statistician, the historian and the realm of social research. The official collectivist sees here no problem at all; for he regards the enrolment of the scientist in the service of the capitalist State as his ideal, and the question of power means no more to him than the task of securing for himself a parliamentary majority. Hence "research work" in the cause of Labour comes to be regarded from a mainly parliamentary, legislative and electoral point of view, starting with an office for the production of propagandist notes for speakers—notes which will always point the moral: "Vote Labour at the next election"—and developing later into a department for the preparation of electoral programmes and plans of legislative reform, to combine popularity with the electorate and "practicability" under existing conditions of capitalist control of finance and industry. True, the additional need is acknowledged for "information" to be supplied to trade unions engaged in wage disputes. But this is a subordinate matter; and strikes are only of importance (and in the eyes of Messrs. Webb and MacDonald only to be supported) if they point the moral of State intervention or the need to vote Labour at the next election. Of bodies of this kind, devised mainly with this parliamentary aim, we find good examples in the I.L.P. Information Committee, and the official Joint Research Department of the Labour Party and T.U.C. at Eccleston Square.

If, however, we regard the essential problem before the workers as that of the workers' struggle for power, it follows that a much more comprehensive aim than this is needed. Since the struggle takes place wherever the workers are in conflict with capitalist power, workers' research must not be confined to electoral propaganda or subordinated to a parliamentary and legislative aim. Research must give guidance to the struggle all along the line, facing frankly the fact that it is a struggle. There is the need to unearth the true facts about capitalist imperialism as a system of exploitation—facts which bourgeois researchers do not or are not allowed to reveal in a form which shows their real significance. There is the need for the continual examination of the actual objective conditions under which the workers' struggle proceeds and is likely to proceed in the future, generally in the economic conditions and tendencies of Europe and the world as a whole,

specifically in the state of trade, profits and conditions of work and employment in particular industries. There is the need to collate the experience of the workers' struggle in other countries and in our own history, and to draw from that experience the lessons for the future of our movement from time to time. There is the need in this or that struggle to counteract the propaganda of the employers and the Press and the Government by spreading among the masses as a whole the facts from the workers' point of view, whether it be a parliamentary struggle, or a trade union question, some workshop dispute, a rent strike, or an affair of Fascists, of Poplar or West Ham.

To achieve its function along these lines effectively, a workers' research department needs to be as closely as possible in touch with the rank and file of the organised workers, as intimately connected as can be with the centres where the fight is joined most keenly. This is required for a double reason. First, in order that what our research reveals may be easily made available to all the active workers in the movement. Second, in order that the research workers themselves may quickly sense the changing needs of the struggle, instead of obstinately pursuing doctrinaire fancies in defiance of the urgent and the important. (For, unlike the cloistered "don," the researchers in our service must seek not merely the true, but what is both true *and* important.)

Of the three important research bodies of the Labour Movement, the third to be mentioned is the Labour Research Department. Starting as a group of intellectuals attached to the Fabian Society, it later emancipated itself from its doctrinaire parent, and in recent years has spread its roots fairly deep and wide in the workers' movement with its direct affiliations from 645 trade union branches and national organisations, local Labour Parties and Trades Councils, co-operatives and socialist societies and unemployed organisations, with its detailed special inquiries conducted for various sections of the movement, such as the comprehensive surveys recently undertaken for the M.F.G.B. and A.E.U. and R.C.A., &c., and with its periodic conferences on general issues in various parts of the country. In this respect it certainly approximates to the ideal that we have been describing. As regards general surveys of economic conditions, it collates statistics and material

from trade reports in periodic reviews of world trade and finance and production in its *Monthly Circular*—work which might well be extended. It provides specific surveys in its studies of labour and capital in various industries, and information about the movement abroad in such publications as V. Gordon Childe's *How Labour Governs in Australia* and the *Labour International Handbook*—another branch of its work that could profitably be systematised and developed. It gives the facts of specific struggles in its *Labour White Papers* which appear from time to time. As a special sideline it has provided a valuable series of educational syllabuses (or “textbooks-in-little” as they have been called) as guides to worker students and workers’ classes. Nor does it neglect the needs of electoral contests, as the leaflet, *Capital or Labour?* and the special *White Papers* prepared for the last two elections show. Its virtue is that its work is not confined to, or disproportionately dominated by, these electoral issues.

One of the most urgent needs of the Labour Movement is a considerable expansion of Labour research of this kind, if our movement is to match the forces of monopoly capitalism with all the wealth of subsidised science and research at its disposal. There may, of course, also be need for departments of information which concentrate on the needs of a particular section, or on purely legislative requirements (preparing programmes and Parliamentary Bills, &c.). But July 31 showed that crucial issues of the struggle are finding their field more and more outside Parliament, and that at such times the parliamentary wing of the movement becomes of comparative insignificance. Moreover, Liverpool has shown how the parliamentary wing, dominated by an electoral machine, may provide a soporific rather than a tonic for the struggle. What is needed is a department of research which shall have the widest possible and most intimate connections with the organs of the workers’ struggle in every field, and with the corporals and lance-corporals in the movement as much as (or perhaps more than) with the movement’s generals and brigade headquarter staffs.

But if the movement is to have the fruits of such research, it must learn the lesson that Big Business has already learned, that such research work needs to be financed in no niggardly and sparing fashion. In business language, research is of the nature of a capital

investment—an outlay which has to be made in order to yield results in the future. The Labour Movement, mainly because it is poor, likes to see in the very near future a full return for every £. If the possibilities of Labour research are to be explored at all adequately this habit must be broken to the extent of taking a rather longer view. The greater part of the work of any research department must be preparatory work, often of a routine and seemingly purposeless character—for instance, the collection of press cuttings, statistics and a multitude of odd and insignificant facts. Their usefulness comes later and incidentally in fitting into some specific scheme of inquiry. In these special inquiries, accordingly—for instance, an inquiry into mining profits and wages, or into combines in the oil industry, or the intricate workings of the Dawes Plan—it is not simply a matter of the direct or prime costs involved in the labour of this particular piece of work. There are the costs of the preparatory work, perhaps involving laborious collection and preserving of material over several years; and a due share of these “overhead costs” have to be reckoned in.

Further, in the case of all scientific research, much preparatory work must be undertaken, of which the practical usefulness is for the time being distinctly *uncertain*. But the work needs to be done because it *may* be useful, and if it is neglected some future piece of research may be incomplete for lack of it. Have not nearly all scientific inventions—take steam and electricity, for instance—been merely the culmination of a long series of previous researches, the result of one final link in a chain of other links, each of which by itself had little purpose? So also in the case of Labour research we shall only secure the valuable results that we ought to get from it if we are far-sighted in its endowment.

First and foremost, however, the results of Labour research will not be of the *kind* to be valuable for *our purpose*, if the research is haphazard, if it merely imitates bourgeois research, or is dominated by purely parliamentary issues which in a crisis may be of small or no importance. It must be planned and organised according to a purpose—the workers’ struggle for power; and it must be kept closely in touch, both organically and in spirit, with all the sections of the workers’ front where the fight rages strong.

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GERMANY

The Situation in the Communist Party

A FURTHER important stage in the evolution of the Communist Party of Germany has now been reached. After the events of October and November, 1923, a profound reaction took place within the Party against the leadership of the Brandler group. With the assistance of the International, which exhaustively discussed the matter in January, 1924,¹ the opposing Left and Centre groups united, and at the Frankfurt Congress in April secured an overwhelming majority.² Among other matters on which the congress laid stress as being important for the new leadership were:—

- (a) A correct understanding of the United Front Tactic ("United Front from below").
- (b) Organisation of the Party on the basis of factory groups.
- (c) Work within the trade unions, in spite of difficulties due to mass expulsion of Communists, &c.
- (d) Correct revolutionary use of Parliament.

It was agreed at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International in June and July of that year, that the efforts of the Executive had been successful and salutary in that they had achieved a practical unity of the Party against the danger of opportunism and had prevented a split. The acknowledged leaders of the Left majority in the new Central Committee were Ruth Fischer and Maslov.

During the following year the process of stabilisation of German capitalism was successfully initiated, the Dawes Plan carried out, and the German bourgeoisie were steadily drawn towards a rapprochement with the Western Powers. The new circumstances were extremely difficult for the Communist Party, and it became plain that with the recovery of capitalism went the relative recovery of the influence of the Social-Democratic Party over the workers. The Presidential elections in the spring of 1925, and the resulting monarchist danger, were an additional source of great difficulties.

It began to be clear, however, that the Party was not doing as well as was possible in the circumstances, in particular its influence in the Trade Union movement fell off. An "Ultra-Left" group (whose chief figure is Rosenberg)

¹See THE LABOUR MONTHLY, April, 1924, Vol. VI, No. 4, page 247.

²See THE LABOUR MONTHLY, July, 1924, Vol. VI, No. 7, page 438.

developed, as was to be expected in a period of disappointment and triumphant reaction, and the Left leadership showed an approximation to the same point of view. The Executive of the International endeavoured to prevent this, and since the session of the National Council of the Party in May has held joint meetings with the Party Central Committee, and in other ways attempted to influence its policy. At the Congress of the Party at Berlin in July, the representatives showed a genuine desire for a united and firm progressive policy, and a decision in general accordance with the proposals of the International were passed. Once again, however, this had no effect upon the policy actually pursued; the situation grew worse—as was illustrated by the composition of the A.D.G.B. Congress in August, at which the Party fraction numbered three, as opposed to over eighty at the Congress three years before.

Finally the International intervened decisively and a letter, signed by the Executive and by the Central Committee, was addressed to all organisations and members of the C.P. of Germany, and published in the Party organs on September 1. The letter, which is very long and detailed, consists of an introduction and seven sections. The introduction sets forth briefly the history of the negotiations between the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Central Committee of the German Party, from the time of the meeting in March, 1925.

The most important question, the question of the German Party, was at that time, and still continues to be, the problem of increasing the recruiting powers of the Party, the problem of winning the masses, especially the masses of Social-Democratic workers. Our general political line has been determined from this standpoint, and from this standpoint we shall consider the other questions. Among these we find the following tasks: Work in the trade unions; convincing the Social-Democratic workers (questions of propaganda, change of tone, &c.); the “normalising” of Party life (inner Party democracy, employment of the former opposition, freedom of discussion, election of Party functionaries, employment of new leading forces, &c.) was regarded by us at the same time as a pre-requisite for the establishment of correct relations with the masses outside the Party; the liquidation of the hidden fight against the International (cessation of the custom of so-called independent emissaries in other parties; sincere carrying out of the real Bolshevik line).

Later, in discussions with a delegation, before the Party Conference in July, the chief questions were gone into again.

- (1) The Executive pointed out the existence of certain Right deviations in the leading group of Fischer and Maslov: the adoption of a too parliamentary attitude, &c.
- (2) It was decided that a really new course should be pursued in the trade unions; that a strong and capable trade union department be openly elected at the Party Conference, or instructions to this effect given to the new Party Centre.
- (3) The representatives of the Executive insisted that fresh leading forces are to be elected to the Centre, especially comrades familiar with trade union work, and including some comrades of the opposition, not for the purpose of dragging the Party over to the Right, as has been deliberately wrongly asserted, but in order to create a means of access to the vacillating members of the Party.

/ At the Party Conference, and later, these decisions were not wholly

carried out, and the leading group took a decided turn once more against the Executive, in alliance with the Ultra-Left group. Further delegations passed to and fro and further discussions were held, in which the Executive vindicated its position, but without avail. This was the situation at the time of the publication of the letter, of which a summarised text follows.

(1) *The General Situation*

This section points out that while at the time of the installation of the present leadership conditions made losses to the Party inevitable ("the October defeat, six months of illegality, the MacDonald Government, Left elections in France, and the Dawes report, with its resultant reformist illusions among wide strata of the working class"), nevertheless during this year conditions have been much more favourable. The international situation is extremely critical. Against the relative stabilisation of Central Europe are to be set: the rapid growth of the Soviet Union; the decline of Britain; the successes of the international United Front (Anglo-Russian Trade Union bloc, and the struggle for unity; the delegations to Russia; the workers' and peasants' congresses in France; the revolutionising of the British Labour Movement, &c.); the increase in the acuteness of the colonial national struggles (Morocco, Syria, China); the concentration of the Imperialist forces against the Soviet Union (the military-diplomatic "ring" round Russia, agitation in the bourgeois Press, the Security Pact, preparations for war and blockade, the attitude of Kautsky and the Social-Democrats). The German bourgeoisie has turned towards the West, and there is at the same time a wave of sympathy among the workers for the Soviets (*cf.* the delegation to Russia) accompanied, it is true, by a certain anti-Moscow tendency, shown even in the Communist Party itself by the Ultra-Left group.

"Although the general situation is by no means unfavourable, the number of members in the Party, at best, only maintains its level; there is a serious falling off in the trade unions; there were serious losses at the political elections; the recruiting powers of the Party are insufficiently developed, despite the apparent unity, which is by no means a Bolshevik unity. This is the point which has now been reached. The Party leaders have not proved capable of winning over the Social-Democratic and non-party workers."

(2) *Trade Union Work, &c.*

The most obvious defect in the leadership has been in trade union work. This was obvious even at the Frankfurt Congress (April, 1924) when the Ultra-Left tendency to abandon the unions was combated only in a half-hearted manner. The general international policy of trade union unity has also been misunderstood, and even described as a move in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. In so far as the International decisions have been carried out, this has been done too much by "disciplinary" methods, expulsion from the Party, &c. The consequence has been a severe loss of the Party influence in the trade unions, even when, as recently has been the case, the conditions are favourable.

"For some months there have been signs of the gradual reawakening of political activity among large sections of the German working class (the building workers' strike, and various other wage struggles in the various branches of industry, the wood-workers' struggle, great demonstrations in various cities, successful Red days, &c.). The Party leaders have not shown themselves capable of reacting to these new phenomena, above all, they have not been able to take advantage of them for our trade union work."

The trade union department of the Central Committee had been dissolved, and although it was agreed at the recent Party Congress to re-establish it, this was not done.

"One of the reasons why the leading comrades of this group neglect the trade union question is their lack of faith in the political power and activity of the masses, both of the members of their own Party, and of the working class in general. . . . These ideas have nothing in common with either a correct estimate of the actual situation, or with Bolshevism. They are an attempt on the part of the leading group to substitute a false criticism of the totality of the Party members for self-criticism."

(3) *Relations to the Communist International*

This section goes at some length into the writings of the German Party leaders, especially Maslov, showing that they betray a lack of understanding of the International's policy from the time of the Third World Congress (1921). That Congress, recognising the slowing down of the revolutionary process, discussed the tactics of the individual parties, and came to the conclusion expressed by the slogans "To the Masses" and, later, "The United Front." This was denounced by Maslov as a "swing to the Right," and his conduct since has shown that he has never really understood or agreed with this fundamental line.

The leading group has, however, not merely disagreed, but has prevented interference by the International, by simulating agreement with its decisions and then failing to carry them out.

(4) *The Inner Life of the Party*

An important reason for the failure of the present Party leadership is the wrong methods adopted within the Party. This was discussed in March, 1925, when "the representatives of the Executive pointed out that the over-centralism, the mechanical pressure, the predominantly administrative measures, the lack of propaganda and of any methods of spreading conviction, the dread of fresh forces, &c., were bound to be absolutely disastrous in effect. At this consultation it was decided to strengthen the inner Party democracy. We were of the opinion that after the victory over the Right has been won, and the Left has the upper hand in the Party, the organisatory guarantees for an all-round correct general policy are given and the problem of Party education comes to the foreground."

The necessity of a wider choice of Party officials was stressed, and the desirability of using members of the former opposition. This was not done, however. Further:—

"this question formed for us a part of the question of the relations towards the non-party and Social-Democratic workers. For when purely administrative methods are employed in the Party, the same policy is applied on a larger scale to the workers outside the Party, and the result is the cutting off of the possibility of winning over fresh workers."

Although the Party delegation agreed to this, it was not carried out. It was proposed, and agreed, that new members, in close touch with the workers, should be elected to the new Central Committee, but the Congress failed to do this also.

(5) *The Danger of Lack of Principle*

It is pointed out how untenable is the position of a leadership whose theory and practice are inconsistent. The point of view of the group of Maslov and Fischer is one of undue pessimism, of under-estimation of the revolutionary

possibilities and of the activity and ability of the working class. This exaggeration explains the Ultra-Left tendencies of these leaders, and its conflict with the views and instructions of the International explains the mechanical and half-hearted manner in which some activities have been carried out, and the shifts to which the leaders have been reduced to avoid carrying out others.

(6) The Tasks of the Party

The most important task of the Party is to take advantage of the present changes in the mind of the German working class—the reaction against the “Western orientation” of the German bourgeoisie, and the mood of sympathy towards Soviet Russia. The increase of recruiting must always be kept in mind, and with this in view, the tone to be adopted towards the Social-Democratic and non-party workers, the material of agitation, &c., should be determined. Questions of high politics as well as ordinary economic demands should all be utilised, and particular attention paid to parliamentary work from this same point of view.

The existing hostility between Communist and Social-Democratic workers must be liquidated, and the difference between the leadership and the rank and file of the Social-Democratic Party must be made perfectly clear. Factory newspapers, &c., err in this respect.

Trade union work must be taken up in a whole-hearted way, and a trade union department re-established in the Party Centre. The campaign for Trade Union Unity should be pursued, and a Left wing developed after the British pattern. The visit of the German delegation to Soviet Russia should be utilised.

Further, the reorganisation of the Party on the factory basis must be carried out.

Other tasks are the establishment of working fractions in other non-party organisations (sports associations, tenants' leagues, &c.), the adoption of a correct attitude towards the youth, and work among the peasantry and other petit-bourgeois sections of the population. Finally, a thorough system of Party education is essential for the combating of the Right and Ultra-Left dangers, which are still considerable, and the confirmation of the membership on the right road.

(7) Why must the Change be made in the Party now, and why must the Change be rapid?

The last section declares that the change in policy of the Executive is made so suddenly because, after the Berlin Party Congress, it came to the conclusion, on the one hand, that no effect could possibly be produced upon the existing leaders, and on the other that the nucleus of an opposition has begun to appear among the Left rank and file, which will be capable of carrying on the leadership.

“The main defects are not to be found in the thoroughly sound proletarian membership of the Party, but among the leaders, who have proved incompetent. The Party is confronted by great new tasks. The situation is not developing against us, but for us. For some months the class struggle in Germany has been no more on the downward, but on the upward line.”

The publication of the letter immediately produced an intense discussion throughout the Communist Party, and even outside it, which has continued ever since. Within a few weeks it became clear that the membership, even in the most Left districts, Berlin and Hamburg, was coming over to agreement

with the Executive, and at a special National Conference of the Party on October 31, a resolution completely approving the letter was passed by 217 votes to 30, with only one abstention.

This resolution acknowledges the main faults in the previous political line of the Party, as pointed out by the Executive, and declares that positive gains have already accrued from the discussion, and will continue.

Trade Union Congress

THE 12th Congress of the German T.U.C. (the A.D.G.B.), which meets at intervals of three years, was held at Breslau on August 30-September 4. Since the last Congress political and economic events of the greatest importance have occurred, exercising a profound influence on the German working class. The eight-hour day has been lost for large sections of the German workers, wages have been enormously reduced, social legislation abrogated, the rights of factory councils abolished. The A.D.G.B. has throughout pursued a policy of almost complete passivity, and practically no effort was made at the Congress to alter this state of things.

Largely because of this spineless policy, and the inflation, which destroyed Union funds, the membership has fallen to a disastrous extent. At the Congress of 1922 a membership of 7,874,000 was represented, and in the course of that year a total of over eight millions was attained. In December, 1924, the official figures give 3,975,000 as the total, but this has since increased to approximately 4,500,000. The Communist fraction at the Congress numbered two, a fall from over eighty in 1922.

The proceedings were largely devoid of interest, and were completed in a period two days shorter than had been expected. The Dawes Plan and Trade Union Unity were excluded from the agenda, as motions on these questions received the support of fewer than fifty delegates. No concrete policy was decided upon on wages and hours, questions which, owing to the effects of the Dawes settlement, are affecting almost all unions at the present time. Instead, vague resolutions were passed, expressing "encouragement" to the workers in their struggles.

On the subject of "industrial democracy" a resolution was passed on the recommendation of the executive, in favour of the immediate setting up of local and national economic councils, with equal representation for the two sides. This crystallises the policy of class collaboration, which the executive has in fact practised since 1914, and in conjunction with resolutions in favour of craft union organisation, and on the control of industrial disputes, represents a crushing defeat for independent working-class action. The "left wing" section, headed by Dissmann (an old "independent" Socialist) opposed both these resolutions, but accepted a compromise on the former. The whole metal workers' delegation opposed the second resolution, which includes the clauses:—

In a general wage dispute which concerns a number of unions, the lead must be given to the union with the largest membership.

In a wage dispute in which only one craft is engaged the leading union must be consulted before action is taken, in view of the danger that other unions may be affected. If the leading union refuses to support the craft in question, then the other unions must refuse also.

INDIA

Textile Workers' Strike

THE workers in the cotton mills of Bombay are again engaged in a fierce struggle with the federated owners of all the eighty-four cotton mills of that district. It will be remembered³ that a wage reduction of 20 per cent. was inflicted upon these workers after a lock-out of three months in 1924. Before that date, according to an official report issued by the Government of Bombay, the average earnings per day of men in these mills were Rs. 1.7.2., which gives, after a reduction of 20 per cent., approximately 1s. 8½d.

In July, after long consideration of the condition of the industry, the committee of the Mill-Owners' Association recommended a wage reduction of 11½ per cent., to take effect from September 1. It was expected that trouble would occur when the reduced wages were paid, on October 15, but the workers, with surprising determination, struck when the previous wages were paid, *i.e.*, on September 15. Twenty thousand workers struck on that day, and the number increased to 135,000 in a week, and later rose to 154,000, the total number in the industry in Bombay. It should be remembered that there is no union organisation, and these results have been brought about almost spontaneously, by workers who are mainly illiterate, and without resources of any kind. Their sufferings are naturally intense. Epidemics have broken out in the overcrowded tenements where a large proportion of the workers live, and a considerable percentage are reported to have left the city and gone back to the villages.

Officials of the All-India Trade Union Congress, representing the workers, put their case before the Governor of Bombay on August 12, but their demand that he should intervene, or set up a committee of inquiry, was met with the reply that there is no legal authority enabling him to do this. The workers' offer of short time, instead of reduction of wage rates, has also been refused by the owners.

The European trade unions are in this case, almost for the first time, showing their appreciation of the importance of the struggles of the colonial workers. The All-Russian Textile Union sent financial assistance, and was followed by the British Trades Union Congress, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Weavers' Association, and the Amalgamated Society of Dyers. The Textile Workers' International and the Workers' International Relief have also subscribed, and the International Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to its national centres for funds.

³ See THE LABOUR MONTHLY, May, 1924, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 293.

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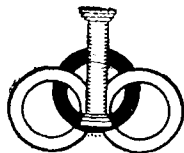
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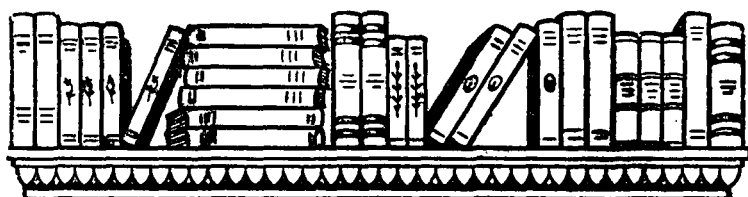
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